

Message Text

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ORIGIN ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-01 INR-07
IO-13 L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-04
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SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 /083 R

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OSD:LMICHAEL
JCS:WFORRELL
ACDA:MHUMPHREYS
PM/DCA:LBRECKON
EUR/RPM:JHAWES
S/P:PKAPLAN S/S:;SEBASTIAN
NSC:WHYLAND
INR:RBARAZ

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
INFO USMISSION NATO
USDEL MBFR VIENNA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USNMR SHAPE
USCINCEUR

S E C R E T STATE 067040

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO, MBFR

SUBJECT: MBFR: TABLING OF NATIONAL MANPOWER DATA

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1. FOR EMBASSY BONN: IN THE LIGHT OF LAST WEEK'S BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS ON MBFR WITH THE FRG AND UK, WE HAVE CONCLUDED THAT TABLING OF WESTERN NATIONAL MANPOWER TOTALS, WITH PROPER SAFEGUARDS, IS IN THE ALLIED INTEREST. YOU SHOULD DRAW ON FOLLOWING WITH AMBASSADOR RUTH AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, GIVE HIM OUR DRAFT TEXT OF NAC GUIDANCE (PARA 8, BELOW), AND ASK THAT HE EITHER PROVIDE COMMENTS OR, IF HE PREFERENCES,

AGREE TO OUR TABLING OUR PROPOSAL IN THE SPC FOR DISCUSSION. BASED ON LAST WEEK'S DISCUSSIONS WITH RUTH, WE SUSPECT HE MAY TIE FRG ACCEPTANCE OF OUR APPROACH TO SOME FORM OF EXPLICIT ALLIED UNDERSTANDING ON NATIONAL REDUCTION COMMITMENTS. IN THIS CASE, YOU MAY SAY THAT WASHINGTON WILL STUDY ANY SPECIFIC LANGUAGE THE FRG WISHES TO PROPOSE.

2. FURTHER DISCUSSION OF AGGREGATE NATO AND WARSAW PACT MANPOWER TOTALS NOW SEEMS UNLIKELY TO CLARIFY THE MAJOR REASONS FOR THE DISCREPANCY BETWEEN EASTERN AND WESTERN DATA ON PACT FORCES. FOR FURTHER PROGRESS TO BE MADE, WE WILL PROBABLY NEED EASTERN SUBTOTALS FOR SOVIET FORCES. MOREOVER, WE ALSO EXPECT THAT A BREAKDOWN OF NON-SOVIET WARSAW PACT FIGURES BY COUNTRY WILL ALSO BE VALUABLE.

OBTAINING SEPARATE FIGURES FOR EASTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WILL ENABLE THE WEST TO IDENTIFY THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE DISCREPANCIES AMONG EASTERN NATIONAL FORCES AND BETWEEN AIR AND GROUND, LAYING THE NECESSARY BASIS FOR SPECIFIC WESTERN QUESTIONS ABOUT SPECIFIC AREAS. WE RECOGNIZE THAT THE DISCREPANCY IN THE DATA OF THE TWO SIDES MAY NOT BE EXPLAINED FULLY BY NATIONAL DATA. THEREFORE, NATO SHOULD CONSIDER ITS OVERALL DATA OBJECTIVES AND STRATEGY WITH RESPECT TO FURTHER DATA DISAGGREGATION SUBSEQUENT TO TABLING NATIONAL TOTALS. WE WILL WANT TO CONSIDER AT THAT POINT TWO OTHER FORMS OF DATA EXCHANGE; NAMELY, BREAKDOWNS BY COUNTRY OF LOCATION AND NUMBER OF MAJOR UNITS. OUR INTEREST IS TO OBTAIN THE NUMBERS OF DIVISIONS DEPLOYED BY WARSAW PACT IN THE NGA. WE WILL ELABORATE ON THESE

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THOUGHTS AND SUGGEST SPECIFIC FURTHER STUDY.

3. THE EAST HAS REJECTED NATO'S OFFER TO EXCHANGE ONLY US DATA IN RETURN FOR SOVIET DATA, THOUGH THEY HAVE AGREED THAT US AND SOVIET FIGURES COULD BE DISCUSSED FIRST IN THE CONTEXT OF A BROADER EXCHANGE. WE EXPECT THEY WILL MAINTAIN THEIR POSITION.

4. GIVEN PAST WESTERN EMPHASIS ON THE DATA EXCHANGE, THE WEST COULD BE PUT AT A SIGNIFICANT DISADVANTAGE BY A REFUSAL TO EXCHANGE NATIONAL FIGURES. SUCH A WESTERN REFUSAL MIGHT BE PARTICULARLY DIFFICULT TO EXPLAIN SINCE MOST OF THE WESTERN FIGURES, OR CLOSE APPROXIMATIONS OF THEM, ARE ON THE PUBLIC RECORD IN THEIR RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES AND ARE WIDELY DISSEMINATED BY RESPECTED UNOFFICIAL SOURCES LIKE THE IISS. WE ARE ALSO CONCERNED THAT THE EAST MIGHT PUBLICLY ACCUSE THE WEST OF UNWILLINGNESS TO EXCHANGE NATIONAL FIGURES AND ATTEMPT TO ERODE THE CREDIBILITY OF THE WESTERN POSITION THAT A SERIOUS MANPOWER DISPARITY EXISTS AND MUST BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN

FRAMING AN AGREEMENT. ALTERNATIVELY, A WESTERN REFUSAL TO EXCHANGE NATIONAL FIGURES MIGHT LEAK TO THE PRESS. WE THEREFORE BELIEVE NATO SHOULD NOW CONSIDER EXCHANGING NATIONAL FIGURES WITH THE EAST. INFORMING THE EAST OF OUR CONDITIONS FOR SUCH AN EXCHANGE IN EARLY APRIL WOULD ALLOW AT LEAST AN INITIAL EASTERN REACTION BEFORE THE RECESS ON APRIL 15.

5. WE ARE CLEARLY AWARE OF THE FRG CONCERN THAT STEPS IN THE DATA DISCUSSION MUST NOT INFRINGE NATO'S LEGAL, POLITICAL, AND TACTICAL POSITION ON THE SUBSTANCE OF OUR NEGOTIATING POSITION ON COLLECTIVITY AND, SPECIFICALLY, THAT AN EXCHANGE OF NATIONAL TOTALS NOT BE USABLE BY THE EAST AS LEVERAGE FOR ACCEPTANCE OF NATIONAL SUB-CEILINGS ON OTHER THAN US AND SOVIET FORCES. IN ADDITION, THE US WOULD NOT WANT TABLED 1976 DATA TO BECOME THE DATA USED TO COMPUTE REDUCTIONS AND LIMITATIONS OR PROVIDE THE BASIS
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FOR A NO-INCREASE COMMITMENT BETWEEN THE PHASES.

6. WE SHARE FRG CONCERNS, AND OUR PROPOSED DRAFT TEXT MAINTAINS A STRONG DISCLAIMER TO INSURE AGAINST SUCH A POSSIBILITY. THE US BELIEVES THAT THE MORE NATO HESITATES TO EXCHANGE NATIONAL DATA, THE MORE LIKELY IT BECOMES THAT THE EAST, OR NATO PUBLICS, WILL TEND TO CONCLUDE THAT NATO ITSELF BELIEVES THAT THERE IS SUCH A CONNECTION BETWEEN THE DATA EXCHANGE AND THE SUBSTANTIVE POSITIONS OF THE TWO SIDES. A POWERFUL ELEMENT OF PROTECTION WILL THEREFORE BE NATO'S CONSISTENT POSTURE, IN VIENNA AND IN PUBLIC, THAT THE DATA EXCHANGE DOES NOT AND CANNOT PREJUDICE OUR NEGOTIATING POSITIONS.

7. WE BELIEVE THE DISCLAIMER IN THE PROPOSED TEXT OF THE GUIDANCE FULLY PROTECTS WESTERN INTERESTS.

8. THE FOLLOWING IS OUR PROPOSED DRAFT NAC GUIDANCE TO THE AHG. BEGIN TEXT:

IF THE AHG IS SATISFIED THAT THE EAST IS UNWILLING TO ACCEDE TO AN EXCHANGE OF US AND SOVIET MANPOWER DATA (AS AUTHORIZED BY CM(77)), THE ALLIED NEGOTIATIONS ARE HEREBY AUTHORIZED TO AGREE TO AN EXCHANGE OF DATA ON THE TOTAL ACTIVE DUTY MILITARY MANPOWER (EXCLUDING NAVAL PERSONNEL) AND ON THE TOTAL ACTIVE DUTY GROUND FORCE MANPOWER IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS OF EACH OF THE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS, WITH THE WESTERN AND EASTERN SIDES EACH PROVIDING DATA ON ITS OWN FORCES. SUCH AN AGREEMENT MUST BE SUBJECT TO THE FOLLOWING CONDITIONS:

--THAT THE EXCHANGE OF NATIONAL DATA SHOULD BE MADE IN A
SIMULTANEOUS MANNER;

--THAT THE DISCUSSION OF DATA AND DEFINITIONS AND THE
EXCHANGE OF DATA CONTINUES, AS AGREED BY BOTH SIDES, TO BE
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WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE OVERALL POSITION OF EITHER SIDE;

--THAT, IN THE ABSENCE OF AGREEMENT ON AN EFFECTIVE DATE
FOR COMPUTING REDUCTIONS AND/OR LIMITATIONS, THE TABLING OF
NATIONAL FIGURES ARE WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE SPECIFIC
DATA WHICH WOULD FORM THE BASIS OF AN AGREEMENT AND THERE-
FORE THEY MAY NOT BE USED TO COMPUTE REDUCTIONS AND/OR
LIMITATIONS.

IF SUCH AN AGREEMENT IS ACHIEVED, THE AD HOC GROUP
IS AUTHORIZED TO USE NATO AGREED DATA FOR THIS PURPOSE.

THE WESTERN NEGOTIATORS ARE TO MAKE A SPECIFIC

DISCLAIMER TO THE EASTERN NEGOTIATORS THAT THE TABLING OF
NATIONAL MANPOWER TOTALS IS WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE
WESTERN SUBSTANTIVE REJECTION OF LIMITS ON NATIONAL FORCES
EXCEPT THOSE ON THE US AND USSR. END TEXT.
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Message Attributes

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Copy: SINGLE
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